A LAST APPEAL TO REASON

BY

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Speech before the Reichstag, 19th July, 1940

I have summoned you to this meeting in the midst of our tremendous struggle for the freedom and the future of the German nation. I have done so, firstly, because I considered it imperative to give our own people an insight into the events, unique in history, that lie behind us, secondly, because I wished to express my gratitude to our magnificent soldiers, and thirdly, with the intention of appealing, once more and for the last time, to common sense in general.

If we compare the causes which prompted this historic struggle with the magnitude and the far-reaching effects of military events, we are forced to the conclusion that its general course and the sacrifices it has entailed are out of all proportion to the alleged reasons for its outbreak — unless they were nothing but a pretext for underlying intentions.

The programme of the National-Socialist Movement, in so far as it affected the future development of the Reich's relations with the rest of the world, was simply an attempt to bring about a definite revision of the Treaty of Versailles, though as far as at all possible, this was to be accomplished by peaceful means.

This revision was essential for numerous reasons. The Versailles were intolerable, not only because of their humiliating discrimination and because the disarmament which they ensured deprived the German nation of all its rights, but far more so because of the consequent destruction of the material existence of one of the great civilized nations in the world, and the proposed sanbilitation of its future, the utterly senseless accumulation of immense tracts of territory under the domination of a number of States, the theft of all the irreparable foundations of life and indispensable vital necessities from a conquered nation. While this dictate was being drawn up, men of insight even among our foes were uttering warnings about the terrible consequences which the ruthless application of its insane conditions would entail — a proof that even among them the conviction predominated that such a dictate could not possibly be upheld in days to come. Their objections and protests were silenced by the assurance that the statutes of the newly-created League of Nations provided for a revision of these conditions; in fact, the League was supposed to be the competent authority. The hope of revision was thus at no time regarded as presumptuous, but as something natural. Unfortunately, the Geneva Institution, as those responsible for Versailles had intended, never looked upon itself as a body competent to undertake any sensible revision, but from the very outset as nothing more than the guarantor of the ruthless enforcement and maintenance of the conditions imposed at Versailles.

All attempts made by democratic Germany to obtain equality for the German people by a revision of the Treaty proved unavailing.

World War Enemies Unscrupulous Victors

It is always in the interests of a conqueror to represent stipulations that are to his advantage as sacrosanct, while the instinct of self-preservation in the vanquished leads him to reacquire the common human rights that he has lost. For him the dictate of an overbearing conqueror had all the less legal force, since he had never been honourably conquered. Owing to a rare misfortune, the German Empire, between 1914 and 1918, lacked good leadership. To this, and to the as yet unenlightened faith and trust placed by the German people in the words of democratic statesmen, our downfall was due.

"Hence the Franco-British claim that the Dictate of Versailles was a sort of international, or even a supreme, code of laws, appeared to be nothing more than a piece of insolent arrogance to every honest German, the assumption, however, that British or French statesmen should actually claim to be the guardians of justice, and even of human culture, as mere stupid effrontery. A piece of effrontery that is thrown into a sufficiently glaring light by their own extremely negligible achievements in this direction. For seldom have any countries in the world been ruled with a lesser degree of wisdom, morality and culture than those which are at the moment exposed to the ragings of certain democratic statesmen.

The programme of the National-Socialist Movement, besides freeing the Reich from the innermost fetters of a small substratum of Jewish-capitalistic and pluto-democratic profiteers, proclaimed to the world our resolution to shake off the shackles of the Versailles Dictate.

Germany's demands for this revision were a vital necessity and essential to the existence and honour of every great nation. They will probably one day be regarded by posterity as extremely reasonable. In practice, all these demands had to be carried through contrary to the will of the Franco-British rulers. We all regarded it as a sure sign of successful leadership in the Third Reich that for years we were able to effect this revision without a war. Not that — as the British and French demagogues asserted — we were at that time incapable of fighting. When, thanks to growing common sense, it finally appeared as though international co-operation might lead to a peaceful solution of the remaining problems, the Agreement to this end signed in Munich on September 29, 1938, by the four leading interested States, was not only not welcomed in London and Paris, but was actually condemned as a sign of abominable weakness. Now that peaceful revision threatened to be crowned with success, the Jewish capitalist war-mongers, their hands stained with blood, saw their tangible pretexts for realizing their diabolical plans vanish into thin air. Once again we witnessed a conspiracy by wretched corruptible political creatures and money-grabbing financial magnates, for whom war was a welcome means of furthering their business ends, the poison scattered by the Jews throughout the nations began to exercise its disintegrating influence on sound common sense Scribblers concentrated upon decrying honest men, who wanted peace, as weaklings and traitors; and upon denouncing the opposition parties as the Fifth Column, thus breaking all internal resistance to their criminal war policy. Jews and Freemasons, armaments manufacturers and war profiteers, international business-men and Stock Exchange jobbers seized upon political hirelings of the despicable and Herostrates type, who described war as something infinitely desirable.

It was the work of these criminal persons that spurred the Polish State on to adopt an attitude that was out of all proportion to Germany's demands and still less in the attendant consequences.

In its dealings with Poland, the German Reich has pre-eminently exercised genuine self-restraint since the National-Socialist régime came into power. One of the most despicable and foolish measures of the Versailles Dictate, namely, the severance of an old German province from the Reich, was crying out aloud for revision. Yet what were my requests?

I name myself in this connexion, because no other statesman might have dared to propose a solution such as mine to the German nation. It merely implied the return of Danzig — an ancient purely German city — to the Reich, and the creation of a means of communication between the Reich and its severed province. Even this was to be decided by a plebiscite subject to the control of an international body. If Mr Churchill and the rest of the war-mongers had felt a fraction of the responsibility towards Europe which inspired me, they could never have begun their infamous game.

It was only due to these and other European and non-European parties and their war interests, that Poland rejected my proposals, which in no way affected either her honour or her existence, and in their stead had recourse to terror and to the sword. In this case we once more showed unexampled and truly superhuman self-control, since for months, despite murderous attacks on minority Germans, and even despite the slaughter of tens of thousands of our German fellow-countrymen, we still sought an understanding by peaceful means.

What was the situation?

One of the most unnatural creations of the Dictate of Versailles, a pompous puffed up civil political and military pomp, insults another State for months on end and threatens to grind it to powder, to fight battles on the outskirts of Berlin, to hack the German armies to pieces, to extend its frontiers to the Oder or the Elbe, and so forth. Meanwhile, the other State, Germany, watches this tumult in patient silence, although a single movement of her arm would have sufficed to prick this bubble inflated with folly and hatred.

On September 2, the conflict might still have been averted — Mussolini proposed a plan for the immediate cessation of all hostilities and for peaceful negotiations. Though Germany saw her armies storming to victory, I nevertheless accepted his proposal. It was only the Franco-British war-mongers who desired war, not peace. More than that, as Mr Chamberlain said, they needed a long war, because they had now invested their capital in armaments shares, had purchased machinery and required time for the development of their business interests and the amortization of their investments. For, after all, what do these "citizens of the world" care about Poles, Czechs or such-like peoples?

On June 19, 1940, a German soldier found a curious document when searching some railway trucks standing in the station of La Charité. As the document bore a distinctive inscription, he immediately handed it over to his commanding officer. It was then passed on to other quarters, where it was soon realized that we had lighted on an important discovery. The station was subjected to another, more thorough-going search.

Thus it was that the German High Command gained possession of a collection of documents of unique historical significance. They were the secret documents of the Allied Supreme War Council, and included the minutes of every meeting held by this illustrious body. This time Mr. Churchill will not succeed in contesting or lying about the veracity of these documents, as he tried to do when documents were discovered in Warsaw

These documents bear marginal notes inscribed by Messieurs Gamelin, Daladier, Weygand, etc. They can thus at any time be confirmed or refuted by these very gentlemen. They further yield remarkable evidence of the machinations of the war-mongers and war-extenders. Above all, they show that those stony-hearted politicians regarded all the small nations as a means to their ends; that they had attempted to use Finland in their own interests; that they had determined to turn Norway and Sweden into a theatre of war; that they had planned to fan a conflagration in the Balkans in order to gain the assistance of a hundred divisions from those countries; that they had planned a bombardment of Batum and Baku by a ruthless and unscrupulous interpretation of Turkey's neutrality, who was not unfavourable to them; that they had invegled Belgium and the Netherlands more and more completely until they finally entrapped them into binding General Staff agreements, and so on, ad libitum.

The documents further give a picture of the dilettante methods by which these political war-mongers tried to quench the blaze which they had lighted, of their democratic militarism, which is in part to blame for the appalling fate that they have inflicted on hundreds of thousands, even millions of their own soldiers, of their barbarous unscrupulousness which caused them callously to force mass evacuation on their peoples, which brought them no military advantages, though the effects on the population were outrageously cruel.

These same criminals are responsible for having driven Poland into war.

Eighteen days later this campaign was, to all intents and purposes at an end.

Britain and France Considered Understanding a Crime

On October 6, 1939, I addressed the German nation for the second time during this war at this very place. I was able to inform them of our glorious military victory over the Polish State. At the same time I appealed to the insight of the responsible men in the enemy States and to the nations themselves. I warned them not to continue this war, the consequences of which could only be devastating. I particularly warned the French of embarking on war which would forcibly eat its way across the frontier and which irrespective of its outcome, would have appalling consequences. At the same time, I addressed this appeal to the rest of the world although I feared — as I expressly said — that my words would not be heard, but would more than ever arouse the fury of the interested war-mongers. Everything happened as I predicted. The responsible elements in Britain and France scented in my appeal a dangerous attack on their war profits. They therefore immediately began to declare that every thought of conciliation was out of the question, nay, even a crime; that the war had to be pursued in the name of civilization, of humanity, of happiness, of progress, and — leave no stone unturned — in the name of religion itself. For this purpose, negroes and bushmen were to be mobilized. Victory, then said, would come of its own accord, it was, in fact, within the easy reach, as I myself must know very well and have known for a long time since, or I should not have broadcast my appeal for peace throughout the world. For if I had had any justification for

believing in victory, I should never have proposed an understanding with Britain and France without making any demands. In a very few days those agitators had succeeded in representing me to the rest of the world as a veritable coward.

For this peace proposal of mine I was abused, and personally insulted; Mr. Chamberlain in fact spat upon me before the eyes of the world and, following the instructions of the instigators and warmongers in the background, men such as Churchill, Duff Cooper, Eden, Hore Belisha, etc., declined even to mention peace, let alone to work for it.

Thus this ultra-capitalistic clique of people with a personal interest in the war clamoured for its continuance. This is now taking place.

I have already assured you, and all of you, my friends, know, that if a long time elapses without my speaking, or if things seem quiet, this does not mean that I am doing nothing. With us it is not necessary, as it is in the Democracies, to multiply every aeroplane that is built by five or by twelve and then broadcast it to the world. Even for a hen it is not very clever to announce in a loud voice every egg she is about to lay. However, it is very much more stupid for statesmen to babble to the world of projects which they have in mind, thereby informing them in good time. It is thanks to the excited chattering of two of these great democratic statesmen that we have been kept informed as to our enemy's plans for extending the war and their concentration on Norway or Sweden.

Our Enemies Extended War to Scandinavia

While this Anglo-French war clique was looking round to find new possibilities of extending the war or of roping in new victims, I was working to complete the organization of the German Forces, to form new units, to accelerate the production of war material and to complete the training of the entire naval, military and air forces for their new tasks. Apart from that the bad weather in the late autumn and the winter necessitated a postponement of military operations. During March, however, we received information about Anglo-French intentions of intervening in the Russo-Finnish conflict, presumably not so much for the sake of helping the Finns as in order to damage Russia which was regarded as a Power working with Germany. These intentions developed into the decision to take an active part, if at all possible, in the Finnish war in order to obtain a base for carrying the war into the Baltic. At the same time, however, the proposals of the Allied Supreme War Council became more and more insistent, either to set the Balkans and Asia Minor on fire in order to cut off Germany's supply of oil from Russia and Rumania, or to obtain possession of the Swedish iron ore. With this object in view, a landing was to have been made in Norway with the main object of occupying the iron ore railway leading from Narvik across Sweden to the port of Lulea.

The conclusion of peace between Russia and Finland caused the contemplated action in the Northern States to be withheld at the last moment. But a few days later these intentions again became more definite and a final decision was reached. Britain and France had agreed to carry out an immediate occupation of a number of the most important points under the pretext of preventing Germany from benefiting from further war supplies of Swedish ore. In order to secure this Swedish ore entirely, they intended to march into Sweden and to deal with the small forces which Sweden was in a position to assemble, if possible, in a friendly way, but with force, if necessary.

That this danger was imminent, we learnt through the uncontrollable verbosity of no less a person than the First Lord of the Admiralty. We received further confirmation of this through a hint given by the French Premier M. Reynaud to a foreign diplomat. Until a short time ago, however, we were unaware that the date for this action had already been twice postponed before April 8, and that the occupation was to have taken place on the 8th, this being the third and final date; in fact, this was not definitely confirmed until the finding of the records of the Allied Supreme War Council.

As soon as the danger of the Northern States being dragged into the war became apparent, I gave the necessary orders to the German Forces.

The case of the "Altmark" showed at the time that the Norwegian Government were not prepared to safeguard their neutrality. Reports from observers made it clear, moreover, that there was complete agreement at least between the leading men of the Norwegian Government and the Allies. Finally, the reaction of Norway to the penetration of British minelayers into Norwegian territorial waters dispelled the last shadow of doubt. This was the signal for the commencement of the German operation, which had been prepared in every detail.

Actually the position was different from what we believed it to be on April 9. Whereas at that time we believed that we had anticipated the British occupation by a few hours, today we know that the landing of the British troops had been planned for the 8th, and that the embarkation of the British units had already commenced on the 5th and 6th; however, at the same moment the first news of the German action, or rather of the departure of the German Fleet, was received at the British Admiralty, and in view of this fact Mr Churchill decided to order the disembarkation of the units which were already on board ship, so that the British Fleet could first seek out and attack the German vessels. This attempt failed. Only a single British destroyer came into contact with German naval vessels, and was sunk before it could convey any information to the British Admiralty or to the British Fleet. Thus followed the landing of the first German detachments on the 9th in an area stretching from Oslo northwards to Narvik. When information of this was received in London, Mr Churchill had already been anxiously waiting for some hours to hear of the successes of his fleet.

This blow, Gentlemen, was the boldest undertaking in the history of the German Forces. Its successful execution became possible only thanks to the command and conduct of all German soldiers taking part. The achievements of our three Services, Army, Navy and Air Force in this fight for Norway are expressive of the highest military qualities. The Navy carried out the operations assigned to it and, later on, the transport of troops, against an enemy who altogether possessed tenfold superiority. All the units of our young German Navy have covered themselves in this action with imperishable glory. Not until after the war will it be possible to disclose the difficulties encountered during this campaign in the way of setbacks, losses and accidents.

That they finally overcame all difficulties, is due to the conduct of both officers and men.

The Air Force,

which was often the only means of transport and communication in this enormous area, surpassed itself in every respect. Daring attacks on the enemy, on ships and on disembarked troops can hardly be more highly praised than the tenacity and courage displayed by those transport pilots, who in spite of dirty weather kept on flying in the Land of the Midnight Sun in order to land soldiers or bring down supplies, often in blinding snowstorms. The Norwegian fjords have become the graveyard of many a British warship. The British Fleet was finally obliged to yield before the incessant violent attacks of German dive-bombers and evacuate those territories, of which it had been stated, with excellent taste, in a British paper a few weeks previously, that it would be a pleasure for Britain to take up the German challenge.

The Army.

Great demands were made of the soldiers already during transport. Air landing-troops provided the first foothold at many places. Division after division followed in a stream and commenced war operations in a territory which provided exceptional facilities for resistance on account of its natural characteristics and — so far as Norwegian units were concerned — was very bravely defended. Of the British troops landed in Norway it can, however, only be said that the one remarkable thing about them was the unscrupulousness with which such poorly trained, inadequately equipped and extremely badly led soldiers were landed as an Expeditionary Force. Their inferiority was never in doubt from the very beginning; as regards, however, the achievements of the German Infantry, the Engineers, our Artillery, our Signallers and Service Units, they will go down in history as a proud example of heroism.

The word "Narvik" will for ever be immortalized as a magnificent testimony to the spirit of the Armed Forces of the National-Socialist Reich.

Messrs Churchill, Chamberlain and Daladier were, up till recently, very badly informed in regard to the nature of German unity. I announced at the time that the future would probably teach them a lesson. And I may with safety assume that, more than anything else, the action of mountain troops from Austria on this, the most northerly front of our struggle for freedom, will have furnished them with the necessary information in regard to the Reich and its sons.

It is a pity that Mr Chamberlain's Grenadier Guards did not devote sufficient, and above all, lasting attention to this problem but preferred to let matters go, on first making contact with the troops so recently embodied in the Reich and recognizing their mettle.

General von Falkenhorst was in charge of land operations in Norway.

Lieutenant-General Dietl was the hero of Narvik.

The naval operations were carried out under the command of
Admiral-General Saalwächter

and Admirals
Carls and
Böhm

and Vice-Admiral Lütjens.

Air operations were under the command of
Colonel-General Milch and
Lieutenant-General Geisler.

The High Command of the Army,
Colonel-General Keitel as Commander-in-Chief,
General Jodl as Chief of Staff,

were responsible for the execution of my instructions for the entire operation.

Anglo-French Plans to attack Germany via Belgium and Holland

Before the campaign in Norway had come to an end, the news from the West became more and more threatening. Though actually before the outbreak of war plans had been made to break through the Maginot Line, in the event of an unavoidable conflict with France or Britain, an undertaking for which the German troops had been trained and for which they were equipped with the necessary arms, the necessity became evident in the course of the first months of the war, of envisaging some action against Belgium or Holland, if need be. Whereas Germany at first had hardly concentrated any forces near the frontiers of Holland and Belgium apart from the troops necessary for her security, while otherwise extending her system of fortifications, a noticeable concentration of French forces was taking place along the Franco-Belgian frontier. The massing of practically all the Tank Divisions and Mechanized Divisions in this sector in particular indicated the intention, in any case however the possibility, of their being thrown forward in a lightning dash through Belgium to the German frontier. The following facts, however, now made the matter definite whereas, given a fair and proper interpretation of Belgian and Dutch neutrality, both countries would have been compelled to turn their attention towards the West in view of the concentration of very powerful Anglo-French forces on their frontier, they both commenced to reduce their own forces there in order to man the German frontier. At the same time, the news of General Staff conversations that were proceeding threw a peculiar light on Belgian and Dutch neutrality. There is no need for me to emphasize that these conversations should have been carried on with both sides if they had been really neutral. For the rest, there was such an accumulation of signs pointing to an advance of Anglo-French troops through Holland and Belgium against the German industrial districts, that this threat now had to be regarded by us as a most serious danger.

I therefore acquainted the German forces with the possibility of such a development, and gave them the necessary detailed instructions. In numerous discussions in the Army High Command with the Commanders-in-Chief of the three Services, the Group and Army Commanders, down to the chiefs of important individual units, the various tasks were allotted and discussed, and applied with every understanding as a basis for special training of the troops.

The whole German plan of advance was accordingly altered.

The careful observations which had been made everywhere gradually compelled us to realize that an Anglo-French thrust was to be expected at any moment after the beginning of May. Between May 6 and 7, fears that the advance of the Allies into Holland a Belgium could be expected any moment were multiplied, particular on account of telephone messages between London and Par which had come to our knowledge. The following day, on the 8 I therefore gave orders for an immediate attack at 5.35 a. m. May 10th.

The basic idea of these operations was, disregarding small u important successes, so to dispose the entire forces — principal the Army and the Air Force — that the total destruction of t Anglo-French Armies would be the inevitable consequence, so lo as the operations provided for in the plan were correctly execute In contradistinction to the Schlieffen Plan of 1914, I arranged t the operations to bear mainly on the left wing of the front, whe the break-through was to be made, though ostensibly retaining t principles of the opposite plan. This strategy succeeded. T establishment of the entire plan of operations was made easier f me, of course, by the measures adopted by the enemy himself, t the concentration of the entire Anglo-French mechanized forc along the Belgian frontier made it appear certain that the Hi Command of the Allied Armies had resolved to proceed into th area as rapidly as possible.

Relying upon the powers of resistance of all the German Infant Divisions employed in the operation, a blow directed at the rig flank of the Anglo-French Motorized Army Group must in the circumstances lead to the complete destruction and breaking-up, fact probably to the surrounding of the enemy forces.

As a second operation, I had planned to reach the Seine down Havre and also to secure a position on the Somme and the Aisn from which the third attack could be made, this attack bei intended to advance across the Plateau of Langres to the Swi frontier with the strongest forces. As a conclusion of the operatio it was intended to occupy the coast south of Bordeaux.

The operations were carried out in accordance with this pl and in this order.

The success of this, the most tremendous series of battles in t history of the world, is due above all to the German soldier himse He has again proved his worth in a most convincing way on eve battlefield on which he fought. The whole nation shares in th glorious achievement.

The soldiers of the new provinces incorporated since 1938 ha also fought magnificently and have made their contribution blood. By reason of this heroic effort on the part of all German the National-Socialist German Reich will, at the conclusion of th war, for ever be sacred and dear to the hearts not only of thos living today but also to coming generations.

As I come to express my appreciation of the forces whose effor have made this most glorious victory possible, my first words praise are due to a command which was equal to the highe demands made upon it during this campaign.

The Army.

The Army has carried out the duties allotted to it, under th command of the C.-in-C., General von Brauchitsch and his Chief of the General Staff, Halder, in a truly glorious manner.

If the command of the German Army of yesterday was considere to be the best in the world, then today it is worthy of at least t same admiration. In fact, success being the deciding factor in t final evaluation, the command of the new German Army must b accounted still better.

The Army in the West was under the command of Generals
Ritter von Leeb,
von Rundstedt and
von Bock,
divided into three Army Groups.

The Army Group of General Ritter von Leeb had the primar duty of holding at all costs the left wing of the German Wester Front from the Swiss frontier as far as the Moselle. Not until further stage in the operations was it intended to give this front a active share in the battle of destruction with two armies under th command of Generals
von Witzleben and
Dollmann.

On May 10, at 5.35 a. m., the two Army Groups under th command of General von Rundstedt and General von Bock wer ready for the attack. Their allotted task was to force their wa through the enemy positions at the frontier along the whole fro from the Moselle to the North Sea; to occupy Holland; to advanc against Antwerp and the Dyle position; to take Liége. Above all t reach the Meuse with the massed offensive forces of the left win to carry the crossing between Namur and Carignan near Sedá with the main body of the tank and mechanized divisions an as these operations proceeded, to force their way to the sea, closi following the canal and river system of the Aisne and the Somm and collecting together all available tank and mechanized division

The southern Army Group under the command of General vo Rundstedt was also allotted the important task, as the breal through proceeded, to ensure the covering of the left flan according to plan, in order totally to exclude the possibility of repetition of the "Miracle of the Marne" in 1914.

This tremendous operation, which had already decided t further course of the war, and led, as had been planned, to t destruction of the main body of the French Army and also of t whole British Expeditionary Force, threw a glorious light upo German leadership.

In addition to the two Army Group Commanders and the Chiefs of Staff
Lieutenant-General von Sodenstern and
Lieutenant-General von Salmuth
the following Army Commanders gained the highest distinction
Colonel-General von Kluge as Commander of the 4th Army
Colonel-General List as Commander of the 12th Army
Colonel-General von Reichenau as Commander of the 6t Army
General von Küchler as Commander of the 18th Army
General Busch as Commander of the 16th Army.

Generals:
von Kleist
Guderian
Hoth and
Hoeppner
as Commander of the Tank Corps and the Motorized Troops.

The large number of other generals and officers wl distinguished themselves in these operations are known to yo Gentlemen, through the award of the highest distinctions.

The continuation of the operations in the general direction of the Aisne and the Seine was not undertaken in the first place with a view to taking Paris, but in order to obtain or secure suitable points for the commencement of operations with the object of forcing a way through as far as the Swiss frontier. This enormous offensive operation was carried out according to plan thanks to the brilliant command of all ranks.

The change in the High Command of the French Army, which took place in the meantime, was intended to reinforce the French powers of resistance and to turn the battle, which had commenced so unfortunately for the Allies, in the direction which they desired.

As a matter of fact, it was found possible to proceed at many places with the new offensive of the German Army only after the most desperate resistance had been overcome. Not only the courage, but also the training, of the German soldier were here given an opportunity of demonstrating their value. Encouraged by the example of innumerable officers and N. C. O.s, and also of individual soldiers, the infantry itself was carried forward time after time even in the most difficult situations. Paris fell! The crushing of the enemy resistance on the Aisne cleared the way for a break-through to the Swiss frontier. In a tremendous encircling movement the Armies forced a passage behind the Maginot Line, which was itself being attacked at two points west of Saarbrücken and Neubreisach by the Army Group Leeb, which had previously been in reserve, and was penetrated under the command of Generals von Witzleben and Dollmann.

Thus we were successful, not only in completely encircling the tremendous front of French resistance, but also of breaking it up into small units and enforcing France's capitulation.

These operations were crowned by the general advance of all the German Armies, the foremost place again being taken by the unconquerable Tank Divisions and Motorized Divisions of the Army with the object of destroying the broken-up remnants of the French Army, or of occupying French territory, the left wing being pushed forward for this purpose towards the mouth of the Rhône in the direction of Marseilles, and the right wing across the Loire in the direction of Bordeaux and the Spanish frontier.

I shall render a special report elsewhere in regard to the entry of our Ally into the war, which had meanwhile taken place.

When Marshal Pétain made an offer to the effect that France would lay down her arms, he was not relinquishing any forces which still remained intact, but was ending a situation which in the view of every soldier was quite untenable. Only the bloodthirsty dilettantism of Mr Churchill enables him either not to comprehend this or to deny it against his better knowledge.

In the 2nd, 3rd and last phases of this war, the following Generals, besides those already mentioned, distinguished themselves as Army leaders:—

von Witzleben,
von Weichs,
Dollmann,
Strauss.

The brave Divisions and Corps of the armed Black Guards fought side by side with the armies.

When I express my own thanks and the thanks of the German people to the Generals I have named for their services as Corps and Army Commanders, I am addressing them at the same time to all the other officers, whom it is impossible to name individually, and especially to the nameless workers of the General Staff. In this war the German infantry has once more shown itself to be what it always has been, the best infantry in the world. All the other arms vied with it, the Artillery, the Engineers and above all the young units of our Tank and Motorized Divisions. With this war the German Tank Corps has won for itself a place in history. The soldiers of the armed Black Guards share this fame.

The achievements of the Army Signal Corps, the Construction Units of the Engineers, and the troops engaged on the rebuilding of railways deserve the highest praise.

The divisions of the Todt Organization, the National Labour Service and the N. S. Motor Corps followed in the train of the armies and also helped in the reconstruction of roads and bridges.

Units of the Anti-Aircraft Artillery attached to the Air Force also fought with the Army during this war. In the very front line they played their part in breaking the power of both the resistance and the attacks of the enemy. It will not be possible to report upon their successes until later.

The Air Force. At dawn on May 10, thousands of fighter planes and dive-bombers, covered by chaser and destroyer planes, swept down upon the enemy air bases. In the course of a few days complete mastery of the air had been achieved and not for one moment during the struggle was it surrendered. Only in places where no German airmen were present for the time being were enemy chasers or bombers able to make even a fleeting appearance. Apart from this their activities were confined to night work.

The Air Force in this war was under the command of the Field Marshal. Its duties were: —

1. **to annihilate the enemy air force or to drive them out of the skies,**
2. **to afford direct and indirect support to the troops in action by continuous attacks,**
3. **to destroy the enemy's lines of communication and transport,**
4. **to weaken and to break the enemy's morale and powers of resistance,**
5. **to land parachute units as advance troops.**

The broad lines of the plan according to which the Air Force was employed and the manner in which it adapted itself to the tactical demands of the moment were outstanding. It is true that the successes achieved would have been impossible without the bravery of the Army, but any bravery of the Army would have been in vain without the heroic efforts of the Air Force.

Both Army and Air Force deserve the highest praise!

Organization and Employment of the Air Force

The Air Force carried out its operations in the West under the personal command of Field Marshal Göring.

His Chief of the General Staff
Major-General Jeschonnek

The two air fleets were commanded by:
General Sperrle and
General Kesselring.

The flying corps under their command were led by
General Grauert
General Keller
Lieutenant-General Loerzer and
Lieutenant-General Ritter von Greim
and also by
Major-General Baron von Richthofen.

The two corps of Anti-Aircraft Artillery were under the command of:
General Weise and
Major-General Dessloch,

The 9th Air Force Division under
Major-General Coeler
achieved particular distinction.

The Commander of the Parachute Corps
General Student
was himself severely wounded.

The further conduct of air operations in Norway devolved upon
General Stumpff.

Whilst millions of German soldiers serving in the Army, the Air Force and the armed Black Guards took part in these engagements, others could not be called away from the training of the reserves at home. Many of the most capable officers, however bitter it may have been for them, had to undertake and be responsible for the training of those soldiers who, either as reserves or as recruit formations, were not destined to be sent to the front until later. Although the inner feelings of those who thought themselves neglected were understood, here too the supreme interests of the community were the deciding factors. Party and State, Army, Navy, Air Force and Black Guards sent every available man to the front. Without the protection afforded by a reserve army, a reserve air force, reserve Black Guard formations as well as that of the Party and the State, it would not have been possible to wage the war at the front. The following Generals have achieved the highest merit as organizers of the Reserve Army at home and of equipment and supplies for the Air Force:—

General Fromm and
General Udet.

I cannot complete the recital of the names of these capable Generals and Admirals without particularly mentioning those who were my closest collaborators on the Staff of the Army High Command.

Colonel-General Keitel, Chief of the Army High Command and
Major-General Jodl, his Chief of Staff.

During long and anxious months of hard work they with their officers played the chief part in the realization of my plans and ideas.

Not until the end of the war will it be possible to render the full homage due to our Navy and its commanders for their achievements.

In concluding these purely military observations on the events, the love of truth compels me to acknowledge the historical fact that all this would not have been possible had it not been for the attitude of the Home Front, and more particularly without the founding, the achievements and the activity of the National-Socialist Party.

At the time of great national chaos in the year 1919 it had already proclaimed in its programme the reestablishment of a German national army and has for decades pursued this ideal with fanatical determination. Without its achievements all the preliminaries for a rebirth of Germany would have disappeared and with them the possibility of the creation of a German army. Above all it also endowed the struggle with a fundamental world philosophy. By reason of that it contrasts the defence of a social community with the thoughtless sacrifice of lives on the part of our democratic enemies in the interests of their plutocracies. Resulting from the Party's activities we have gained a degree of unity between Front and Home, which unfortunately did not exist in the Great War. From its ranks, therefore, I should like to name the following men, who among innumerable others have gained the greatest merit in the struggle to make the celebration of victory possible in a new Germany.

Reich Minister Hess, himself an ex-Servicemen of the Great War, has from the earliest foundation of the Movement been a most faithful comrade in the struggle for the establishment of our present State and its Army.

Lutze, Chief of Staff of the Storm Troops, has organized the millions of Storm Troopers in the spirit of the greatest service to the State and has assured their preliminary training and their post-military training afte leaving the Army.

Himmler has organized the whole of the Police Force and also the armed units of the Black Guard.

Hierl is the originator and chief of the Reich Labour Service.

Dr. Ley is responsible for the attitude of our workers.

Reich Minister Major-General Dr Todt is the organizer of the supply of armaments and munitions and has rendered memorable services as the builder of our mighty network of strategical roads and of the line of fortifications in the West.

Reich Minister Dr. Goebbels is the head of a propaganda service, the quality of which can best be appreciated by a comparison with that of the time of the Great War.

Amongst the numerous organizations of the Home Front I have still to mention the German Winter Help and the National Socialist Welfare Organization, under the control of Herr Hilgenfeldt, as well as the German Red Cross and the Reich Air-Raid Protection Organization under the command of General von Schröder.

I cannot conclude this appreciation of service rendered without finally mentioning the man who for many years has put into practice my guiding principles of foreign policy. He has worked faithfully and tirelessly, sacrificing himself to his duty.

The name of
Herr von Ribbentrop
will for ever be associated with the political rebirth of the German nation as Reich Foreign Minister.

Members of the Reichstag!

As Führer and Commander-in-Chief of the German Army, I have determined to honour these most meritorious Generals before that forum, which is in truth the most representative of the entire German people. At their head I must place that man to whom I find it difficult to express sufficient thanks for his services, which bind his name to the Movement, the State and above all to the German Air Force.

My Party colleague Göring has, since the foundation of the Storm Troopers, been connected with the development and the progress of the Movement. Since the assumption of power, his work and his readiness to shoulder responsibilities have accomplished tasks in innumerable spheres, which will never be forgotten in the history of our people.

Since the re-establishment of the German Army he has been the creator of the German Air Force. It is granted to but few mortals in the course of their lives to create a military instrument from nothing and to develop it until it becomes the mightiest weapon of its kind and above all to imbue it with their spirit.

Field Marshal Göring as creator of the German Air Force individually made the highest contribution to the reconstruction the German Army.

As Commander of the German Air Force he has so far in course of the war contributed to the creation of the prerequis for the final victory. His merits are unique.

I therefore confer on him the rank of Marshal of the Re and award him the Grand Cross to the Iron Cross.

For the services they have rendered in assuring the victory German arms in the struggle for the freedom and the future our German Reich,

I promote: —
the Commander-in-Chief of the Army
Colonel-General von Brauchitsch
to General Field Marshal;
Colonel-General von Rundstedt
Commander-in-Chief of the Army Group A
to General Field Marshal;
Colonel-General Ritter von Leeb
Commander-in-Chief of the Army Group C
to General Field Marshal;
Colonel-General von Bock
Commander-in-Chief of the Army Group B
to General Field Marshal;
Colonel-General List
Commander-in-Chief of the 12th Army
to General Field Marshal;
Colonel-General von Kluge
Commander-in-Chief of the 4th Army
to General Field Marshal;
Colonel-General von Witzleben
Commander-in-Chief of the 1st Army
to General Field Marshal;
Colonel-General von Reichenau
Commander-in-Chief of the 6th Army
to General Field Marshal.

I promote:
General Haider
Chief of the Army General Staff
to Colonel-General;
General Dollmann
Commander-in-Chief of the 7th Army
to Colonel-General;
General Baron von Weichs
Commander-in-Chief of the 2nd Army
to Colonel-General;
General von Küchler
Commander-in-Chief of the 18th Army
to Colonel-General;
General Busch
Commander-in-Chief of the 16th Army
to Colonel-General;
General Strauss
Commander-in-Chief of the 9th Army
to Colonel-General;
General von Falkenhorst
Military Commander in Norway
to Colonel-General;
General von Kleist
General in Command of the 12th Army Corp
to Colonel-General;
General Ritter von Schobert
General in Command of the 7th Army Corps
to Colonel-General;
General Guderian
General in Command of the 14th Army Corp
to Colonel-General;
General Hoth
General in Command of the 15th Army Corp
to Colonel-General;
General Hanse
General in Command of the 3rd Army Corps
to Colonel-General;
General Hoeppner
General in Command of the 16th Army Corp
to Colonel-General;
General Fromm
Chief of the Armaments Department and Commander of Reserve Army
to Colonel-General.

In consideration of his unique services I promote:
Lieutenant-General Dietl
General in Command of the Mountain Corps in Norway
to General of the Infantry
and confer upon him the Oakleaf Decoration to the Kn Cross of the Iron Cross. He is the first officer in the Ger Army to gain this distinction.

Reserving the honouring of the Commanders and Officer the German Navy to a later date, I promote

Admiral Carls
Admiral in Command of the Baltic Naval Station and at same time Commander of the Marines (Eastern Division)
to Admiral-General.

In view of the unique achievements of the German Air Fo I promote:
Colonel-General Milch
to General Field Marshal;
General of the Air Force Sperrle
to General Field Marshal;
General of the Air Force Kesselring
to General Field Marshal.

I promote:
General of the Air Force Stumpff
to Colonel-General;
General of the Air Force Grauert
to Colonel-General;
General of the Air Force Keller
to Colonel-General;
General of the Anti-Aircraft Artillery Weise
to Colonel-General;
General of the Air Force Udet
to Colonel-General.

Furth I promote to the rank of General of the Air Force
Lieutenant-General Geissler,
Ma General Jeschonnek,
Lieu ant-General Loerzer,
Major- eral Ritter von Greim an
eral Baron von Richthofe

In my Army Gr Command I promote
Colonel-Ge al Keitel
to General Field Marshal;
Major-General odl
to eneral of the Artillery.

In announcing these promotions before this forum and consequently before the entire German Nation, on the occasion of the most successful campaign in our history, I am at the same time honouring the whole of the Fighting Services of the National-Socialist Reich.

I cannot conclude my survey of this struggle without at this point making mention of our Ally.

Ever since the commencement of the National-Socialist régime, two points were prominent in the programme of its foreign policy: —

1. The achievement of a real understanding and friendship with Italy and,

2. the achievement of the same relationship with England.

You are aware, Gentlemen, that these ideals inspired me twenty years ago to the same extent as they did later. I have expressed and defended these ideals in print and in speeches on innumerable occasions, as long as I was only a member of the Opposition in the democratic Republic. As soon as the German people entrusted me with its leadership, I immediately attempted to realize in practical form this, the oldest of the ideals of National Socialist foreign policy. Even today I still regret that, in spite of all my efforts, I have not succeeded in achieving that friendship with England which, as I believe, would have been a blessing for both peoples. I was not successful in spite of determined and honest efforts.

But I am all the more happy that the first point in the programme of ideals in my foreign policy could be realized. Thanks for this are due chiefly to the genius who today stands at the head of the Italian people. It is entirely due to his success, the effects of which will endure for centuries to come, that it was possible to establish contact between the two revolutions which spiritually are so closely related, and now finally to establish a bond of blood, given in common, which is destined to grant Europe new life.

That I personally have the honour to be the friend of this man is great joy to me in view of the unique nature of his destiny, which has just as much in common with mine as our two revolutions, and moreover, as with the history of the unification and the rise of our two nations.

Since the rebirth of the German people it has been only from Italy that any voice of human understanding has reached us. A lively community of interests arose from this reciprocal understanding. It was finally sealed by treaty.

When last year this war was thrust upon Germany against my wish and desire, the further action of our two States was co-ordinated between Mussolini and myself. The advantages accruing to Germany from the attitude of Italy were exceptional.

It was not only economically that the situation and attitude of Italy were of advantage to us but also from a military point of view. From the very commencement of the war Italy held strong units of our enemy occupied and above all paralysed the freedom of their strategical dispositions. When, however, the Duce considered that the right moment had come to take up arms against the continuous and intolerable violations represented by French and British acts of interference, and the King declared war, he did so of his own accord.

Our feeling of gratitude must, therefore, be all the deeper.

Italy's entry into the war played a part in hastening France's recognition of the fact that further resistance would be completely unavailing.

Since then our Ally has fought first on the ridges and peaks of the Alps and is now fighting in the wide regions which form her sphere of interest.

The air attacks and the naval engagements now being carried out by our Ally, are being followed up in that spirit which is typical of the Fascist revolution and are being watched by us in that spirit which is inspired in National Socialism by Fascist Italy.

The anguish felt by Italy so recently at the death of Marshal Balbo is also Germany's anguish. Her every joy is also shared by us.

Our co-operation in both the political and military spheres is complete. It will extinguish the injustice done to the German and Italian peoples in the course of centuries. For our efforts will be crowned by common victory.

A Glimpse into the Future

If now, Gentlemen, I speak of the future, it is in no spirit of boastful vainglory. That I can confidently leave to others, who probably need it more than I, for example Mr Churchill. I would like, without any exaggeration, to provide you with a view of the situation as I see it.

1. The course of the war during the last 12 months has proved that I was right and that the opinions of our opponents were wrong.

When British statesmen declare that their country has always emerged stronger from every defeat and every disaster, then it is at least not conceit when I inform you that we shall emerge similarly all the stronger from our successes.

As far back as September 1, last year, I told you that, come what may, neither force of arms nor time would conquer Germany. In military power the Reich is stronger today than ever before. You have learned of the losses — admittedly heavy for the individual, but slight in their total — which the German Army has suffered in action during the last three months. When you consider that during this period we have established a front stretching from the North Cape to the Spanish frontier, you will realize that these losses, especially as compared with those during the Great War, are amazingly slight. This is due, apart from the generally brilliant standard of the army leaders, to the excellent tactical training of the individual soldier and units, and to the co-operation of the various fighting services. It is due, secondly, to the quality and efficiency of our new armaments and thirdly, to our deliberate renunciation of any so-called success merely for reasons of prestige. I myself have, on principle, endeavoured to avoid making an attack or carrying out any operations, not actually essential in connexion with the annihilation of our enemies, but undertaken merely for the sake of fancied prestige.

Nevertheless, we had naturally prepared for very much heavier losses. The man-power of our nation thus spared will strengthen our struggle for our freedom, which has been forced upon us. At present many of our divisions are being withdrawn from France and transferred back to their home quarters. Many men are being given leave. Arms and equipment are being overhauled and replaced by fresh supplies. Taking all in all, the Army today is stronger than ever!

2. Arms. The loss in arms in Norway and especially during the campaign against Holland, Belgium and France is entirely negligible. The output is out of proportion to the loss.

The Army and Air Force are, at this moment, more perfectly equipped and stronger than before our advance in the West.

3. Munitions. Ammunition was manufactured on so large a scale, and the existing supplies are so enormous, that either a limitation or change-over of production is becoming necessary in numerous sections, since many of the existing depots and stores, in spite of huge extensions, are no longer in a position to accommodate further supplies.

The consumption of ammunition, as during the Polish campaign, was small beyond all expectations, and is negligible compared to the supply. The total amount of supplies for the Army and Air Force, and, at present, for all services, is considerably greater than before our attack in the West.

4. Raw materials essential in war.

Thanks to the Four-Year Plan, Germany was admirably prepared for the most severe trial. No army in the world has adapted itself to the use of such materials essential for the conduct of war as were produced within the country, in place of those which had to be imported, to anything like the extent which this has been achieved in Germany. Thanks to the efforts of the Marshal of the Reich, the adaptation of the German economic system to a self-sufficient war economy had been accomplished, even in peace-time. We possess the two most vital raw materials, coal and iron, in what I may today term unlimited quantities. The supply of fuel we have in storage is plentiful, and, short time, be capacity is on the increase and will, within a short time, should cease, sufficient for our requirements, even if our imports

Thanks to our system of collecting old metal, our reserve supplies of metal have increased to such a degree that we can not be at the mercy carry on, even for any length of time, and despite the tremendous possibilities presented by the exploitation of many a valuable spoils and the opening up of the territory occupied by them, Germany and Italy have at their disposal 200 million persons, among whom they can draw on 130 million for man power, whilst over 70 million are engaged in purely economic activities.

I told you on September 1, Gentlemen, that, in order to carry on this war, I had promulgated a new Five Year Plan. Today I am in a position to assure you that the necessary measures have been taken, but that, come what may, I do not look upon time any more as a contingency of a threatening nature. Thanks to measures adopted in time, food supplies are likewise guaranteed however long the war may last.

5. The morale of the German People.

Thanks to their National-Socialist training the people of Germany did not entertain this war in a spirit of superficial and blatant patriotism but with the fanatical grimness of a nation aware of the fate that awaits it should it be defeated. The efforts of our enemies to shatter this unity by means of propaganda were as stupid as they were futile. Ten months of war have only served to strengthen our fanaticism. It is a great stroke of fortune that world opinion is not formed by men who see things as they are, but only by men who see them as they wish to see them. I have recently perused innumerable documents from the Ark of the Covenant of which stood in the Allied headquarters containing, among other things, reports on conditions in Germany, and memoranda on the morale of the German people. These reports were made by diplomats, but on reading them one can merely ask oneself whether the authors were blind, stupid or low scoundrels. I readily admit that these reports were, and probably still are, persons even in Germany who watch amost with regret while the Third Reich marches on to victory.

Incorrigible reactionaries and unsecig nihilists may well mourn that things have gone very differently from what they had hoped. But their number is negligible and their significance still more so.

Unfortuntely, however, it would appear that when judgement is passed upon the German people alone, the scum of the nation is chosen as criterion. The result is that the diseased imagination of shipwrecked statesmen fastens upon these last reasons for renewed hope. Thus British generals alternately choose "General Hunger" or "threatening revolution" as their ally. There is nothing, however, ridiculous, which these men would not hold out as a hope to their own people in order to be able to survive for a few weeks longer. The German nation has given proof of its morale through its sons fighting on the field of battle who, within the space of a few weeks, overthrew and annihilated that adversary who ranked next to Germany in military power. Their spirit was and is the spirit of the German homeland.

6. The neighbouring States.

In the opinion of British politicians, their last hopes, apart from allied peoples, consisting of a number of kings without a throne, statesmen without a nation and generals without an army, seem to be based on fresh compliments which they hope to bring about, thanks to their proven skill in such matters. A true Wandering cw among these hopes is the belief in the possibility of a fresh arrangement between Germany and Russia.

Germ- Russian relations have been finally established. The reason for this is that Britain and France, supported by certain Balkan States, continually exercised influence with the desire to conquer territory which lay outside the sphere of German interests. It was said at one time that Germany wanted to possess the Ukraine, again that she intended to invade Finland, yet again that she had threatened Rumania, and finally fears were entertained for the safety of Turkey.

In these circumstances I conceived it right to enter into straightforward discussions with Russia in order to define clearly once and for all what Germany believed she must regard as the sphere of interests vital to her future, and what Russia, on the other hand, considered essential for her existence. The new settlement of German-Russian relations was based upon this clear definition of the two spheres of interest. All hope that the completion of this might give rise to fresh tension between Germany and Russia is puerile. Neither has Germany undertaken any steps which would have led her to exceed the limits of her sphere of interest, nor has Russia done anything of the kind. Britain's hope that she could, by bringing about a new European crisis, better her own position amounts, in so far as this concerns Germany's relations with Russia, to a false conclusion. British statesmen are always somewhat slow in grasping facts, but they will learn to see this in time.

All German Peace Efforts Scorned

In my speech on October 6, I prophesied correctly the further development of this war.

I assured you, Gentlemen, that never for one moment di I doubt in our victory. As long as one does not insist on regard ing defeat as the visible sign and guarantee of ultimate victory I would appear to have been justified by the course which event have taken so far. Although I was convinced of the course the would take, I nevertheless at the time held out my hand in a endeavour to reach an understanding with France and Britain You will remember the answer which I received. All my arguments as to the folly of continuing the struggle, and pointing t the certainty that, at best, there was nothing to gain but much t lose, were either received with derision or completely ignore I told you at the time that on account of my peace proposal I expected even to be branded as a coward who did not want t fight on, because he could not. That is exactly what did happe I believe, however, that the French — of course not so muc the guilty statesmen as the people — are beginning to think ver differently about that 6th of October. Indescribable misery ha overtaken that great country and people since that day. I ha no desire to dwell upon the sufferings borne by them on the soldiers i this war. Even greater is the misery caused by the unscrupulousness of those who drove millions from their homes without reason, merely in the hope of obstructing German military operations — an assumption which it is truly difficult to understand As it turned out, the evacuation proved disastrous for Allied operations, though far more terrible for the unfortunate evacuee **Neither in this world nor in the next can Messrs Churchill an Reynaud answer for the suffering they have caused by their com cels and decrees to millions of people.**

All this, as I said once before, need never have happened, fo even in October I asked nothing, from either France or Britain but peace.

But the men behind the armaments industries wanted to go o with the war at all costs, and now they have got it.

I am too much of a soldier myself not to understand the miser caused by such a development. From Britain I now hear only single cry — the cry not of the people but of the politicians that, just because of this, the war must go on.

I do not know whether these politicians already have a corre tion of what the continuation of this struggle will be like. Th do, it is true, declare that they will carry on with the wo and that, even if Great Britain should perish, they would can on from Canada. I can hardly believe that they mean by th **that the people of Britain are to go to Canada; presumably an these gentlemen interested in the continuation of their war w go there. The people, I am afraid, will have to remain in Brita And the people in London will certainly regard the war with oth eyes than their so-called leaders in Canada.**

Believe me, Gentlemen, I feel a deep disgust for this type unscrupulous politician who wrecks whole nations and States. almost causes me pain to think that I should have been select by Fate to deal the final blow to the structure which these m have already set tottering. It never has been my intention wage wars, but rather to build up a State with a new soc order and the finest possible standard of culture. Every ye that this war drags on is keeping me away from this work. As the causes of this are nothing but ridiculous nonentities, as were, Nature's political misfits, unless their corruptibility inf them as something worse.

Only a few days ago, Mr Churchill reiterated his declarati that he wants war. Some six weeks ago he began to wage in a field where he appreciates himself certain strong, namely air-raids on the civil population, although un the pretence that the raids are directed against so-called milit objectives. Since the bombardment of Freiburg, these objecti have been lost, and not only towns and villages, dwelli houses, hospitals, schools, kindergardens, and whatever else m come their way. **Until now I have ordered hardly any repris but that does not mean that this is or will be my only reply.**

I know full well that our answer, which will come one day, will bring upon the people unending suffering and misery. Of cou and upon Mr Churchill, for he, no doubt, will already be in Can where his money and the children of those principally interes in the war have already been sent. For millions of other peo however, great suffering will begin. Mr Churchill ought perh for once to believe me, when I prophesy that a great empire w be destroyed — an empire which it was never my intention destroy or even to harm. I do, however, realize that this strug if it continues, can end only with the complete annihilation of or the other of the two adversaries. Mr Churchill may believe t this will be Germany. I know that it will be Britain.

Last Appeal to Reason

In this hour I feel it to be my duty before my o conscience to appeal once more to reason and comm sense, in Great Britain as much as elsewhere. I consi myself in a position to make this appeal since I am t the vanquished begging favours, but the victor speak in the name of reason. I can see no reason why t war must go on.

I am grieved to think of the sacrifices which it will ca I should like to avert them, also from my own people. I kn that millions of German men, young and old alike, are burn with the desire at last to settle accounts with the enemy, who the second time has drawn our nation into war for no reason what But I also know that at home there are many women and moth who, ready as they are to sacrifice all they have in life, are bound to it by their very heart-strings.

Possibly Mr Churchill will again brush aside this statemen mine by saying that it is merely born of fear and of doubt in final victory. In that case I shall have relieved my conscienc regard to the things to come.

Deputies and Members of the German Reichstag!

In looking back upon the last ten months we are all struck the grace of Providence, which has allowed us to succeed in great work. Providence has blessed our resolves and guide on our difficult paths. As for myself, I am deeply moved, reali that Providence has called upon me to restore to my people t freedom and honour. The humiliation and disgrace, which origi twenty-two years ago in the Forest of Compiègne, have for been obliterated in the same place. Today I have named hi history the men who made it possible for me to accomplish great task. All of them have given their best, and have dev all their faculties and energy to the German people. Let me include by mentioning unknown heroes, who have full their duty in no less a degree; millions of them risked life limb and were at every moment prepared, as true German off and soldiers, to bring for their people the greatest sacrific which man is capable. Many of them now lie buried side by with their fathers, who fell in the Great War. They bear wi to a silent heroism. They are the symbol of those hundre thousands of infantrymen, tank corps men, engineers and gun sailors, airmen and SS-men, and of all those other soldiers joined in the fight of the German Forces for the freedom future of our people, and for the eternal greatness of National-Socialist Reich.